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food made by boiling the pulse and the rice together. When this is prepared she offers each of the male guests a portion of it and they in turn give her from two to four annas which she is allowed to keep for her own use. Following this there is a big feast at the boy's house and the night is spent in chatting, singing and dancing.

(5) *Raman* or *Rauna:* Final Break with her Family. There now remains one more thing, which is the simplest of all to do: to bring the bride back for good. The *raman* is the last part of the cycle and is the taking possession of the girl and the bringing her for the last time to the bridegroom's house. The time for this is set by the *pandit* and there is said to be very little ceremony or no ceremony at all. The bridegroom simply goes with one or two male friends and the girl is brought back to his home in a *palki* and "they live happily ever after." She is now a member of the new household but may come and go at will between the two places.

3. WIDOW REMARRIAGE : (*Kari hui* ; *Path*). It is nevertheless well recognized that a widow may be married again though for the Kols such unions are not marriages in the strict sense. We were often told that while a man may be married more than once, a woman can be married not more than once.

The Kols recognize two possible forms of widow marriage : a widower marrying a widow and a bachelor taking a widow as his wife. The latter form is the least common. Some say that a union like this should never be dignified by the term marriage, for while a Kol bachelor may "keep" a widow he may never marry her and the union has no legal standing. Others call it but half a marriage. Such a liason is never allowed if the Kol bachelor is living in his parents' home ; it is only after he leaves the home that such a thing is possible. As long as this widow is kept by him the *panch* sees that he does not contract a real marriage with anyone else.

There are, however, traces of a sort of legalization of this procedure, but this really consists in first making the Kol a widower ! If he wishes to marry the widow he must first consult the *panch*. They will usually do their best to try to dissuade him, but if he persists they tell him what he will have to do in the way of penalties. If he is willing it has to be ascertained whether the girl also is agreeable. If she is not, the thing is off, but the Kol youth would probably not have made the request without being sure of her consent. The *panch* then arranges a mock wedding for him, and he is "married" to some inanimate thing. There are several forms possible ; one is that the bachelor should be made

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587 to perform the *bhanwar* (circumambulation) seven times about a silver
588 or a gold ring fastened to a *magrohan* stick smeared with *sendur*. This marries him to the ring. Immediately after this procedure he should be anointed with sweet oil mixed with *haldi*—a sign that the "wife" has died and that he is now a widower. He may then put black glass bangles on the widow, and after giving a feast as directed by the *panch* he may take the widow into his home without shame and as if with the permission of the community. Roy has noted a similar custom, only that the bachelor is married to a brass *lota* or a flower.[1] He however, says nothing of the bachelor being made a widower.

587 This type of marriage is very unusual, the more common type of widow marriage being between a real widower and a widow. It may be said in passing that a Kol widower may marry a virgin, and that if this is done the regular form of marriage is resorted to in full.

When a Kol widower wishes to marry a certain widow he should
587 first take the matter up with his *panch*. They look into the matter of
623 relationships and the like, and deal with it on its merits. If it is agreed upon, some one from the *panch* is commissioned to go to the place where the widow is living (probably with her relatives), and through her female relatives make enquiry to see if she would welcome this match. If she is willing and her *panch* has no objection, the way is clear. The widower is told by the *panch* what he will have to do by way of a feast, and this he must do before he is allowed to proceed further. A *barat* is made up and the widower and his party go to the village of the widow where they stay for three days and go through the general procedure as in the case of the regular marriage, without, however, building a *marhwa* or the like, and the general festivities are limited to dancing, singing and eating. The widower must bear all the expenses, none being borne by the widow or her relatives. On the third day the *panch* of her village is called together and certain questions are asked as to their intentions. Upon satisfactory answers they are made to sit together and often they are anointed with oil and vermilion is put on their foreheads. The man is asked to put five black glass bangles on each wrist of the widow and they are considered married.
[574 The party leaves soon after this and there is no ceremony that would
554] correspond to the *gauna* nor *raman*. They go to the man's village where they must feed the community before they are considered to be in good standing.

585 MARRIAGE COSTS. The cost of a Kol wedding is a great financial
511 strain on the parties. Both groups have to pay a part of the costs.

1 Roy, S. C., *Oraon Religion and Customs*, p. 170.

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these conditions the evil spirit is sternly addressed and in the name of Khermai is ordered to leave the person affected and enter the chicken. Upon being satisfied that the transaction has actually occurred there are now two or three ways of dealing with the chicken. The most common procedure is to sacrifice it to Khermai, and as the blood is sprinkled at the base of the shrine she is implored to conduct the evil spirit far away so that it may trouble them no more. The less common method is to take the chicken into the jungle, the further away the better, and loose it there, invoking Khermai to let the spirit be in the chicken as long as the latter lives; then when the chicken dies, never to allow the spirit to be able to find its way back to the village. If the chicken should return alive to the village it would mean that the spirit would also re-enter and harm someone.

Supa. The *supa* or winnowing fan is a great protective and has many magical uses. The new-born infant is laid in it and no evil spirit will dare touch him there. It is used in various wave ceremonies, notably during the wedding cycle. It is used to cast out demons and to detect demon possession.

Tattooing has its protective value and in an earlier section this was discussed. It was noted that it protected against disease and aided in the necessary household activities.[1]

Threads, red or black in colour, are useful about the neck. This applies particularly to the child, but the adult often has one somewhere on his person. At *Rakshabandan* time the opposite sexes tie threads on members of the family. Threads are used in connection with the marriage of trees and a thread is wrapped seven times around the marriage pole. Threads are often knotted to afford further protection.

Thorns. Thorns afford great trouble to the spirits. They are put over the bodies of the deceased in the graves and are often put about the houses, where they serve the dual purpose of keeping off both beast and spirit. They are used in magical practices, so that when a jackal crosses the road a pile of thorns should be set up, a stone put in the centre, and with one's foot placed on the stone the jackal should be roundly cursed.

Trees and Plants. Any tree associated with the gods is holy and keeps away evil powers and influences. A *charpai* or cot of *nim* wood is very useful as it protects one when he is helpless in his sleep. Some *nim* (*Melia azadirachta*) should always be placed in the lying-

1. See pp. 29-31.